THE COMMEMORATOR

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BREAKING POINT

Flora Grace Dozier is an independent Black woman, poet, writer, human rights activist and fighter. As a former employee of the U.S. Department of Education, for almost 20 years, she now struggles with her former employer for redress for years of discrimination and harassment.

Working with the Federally Insured Student Loan Program, she discovered, 17 years ago, patterns of waste, corruption and racism in the program. An outspoken person, the consequence of her discovery was harassment and termination by her former employer.

In the following interview, Dozier talks about her struggle with much political insight. Currently she works with a legal organization called Action Plan for Black Justice, Legal Rights, Access, Redress and Reparation, that she co-founded.

Commemorator – What is the nature of your litigation against the U.S. Department of Education and against Judge D.Lowell Jensen, of the 9th Circuit Court of Northern California?

Flora Grace Dozier – I have filed a judicial misconduct complaint against him (Jensen).

Commemorator – What are the specifics around that charge?

Dozier – Judge Jensen was racist. He's a sadistic person. I had heard about what he had done with the Panther cases earlier in Oakland, so I knew he was the wrong person to expect any justice from. So, I asked him to disqualify himself before he even started to judicating my cases, and I filed what is known as an affidavit to disqualify. And he wouldn't do it.

First there was a hearing(they called it a conference)in his chambers. I told him, "I don't know you personally, but I don't feel that you would be fair – especially seeing that you are part of the Reagan administration that's racist. You don't have any sympathy or any compassion for people of color. And here I am, old, Black, sick, disabled and a female; and your administration has a very poor record with dealing with these groups. I would feel better if you disqualified yourself."

He said he felt he could fairly judicate it. I disagreed with him and wrote the chief judges, at that time, and they ignored me.

Commemorator – What year did all this happen?

Dozier – 1986.

Commemorator – What year did you make the discovery of fraud, waste and abuse with the Federally Insured Loan Program?

Dozier – In 1980. It's not just Oakland; it's the whole United States because this the United States Department of Education.

I was sent out to do an audit of private collection agencies, and the one I went to was at 1330 Broadway, right downtown Oakland.

Private Collection Agency

I discovered that this was a private collection agency with a government contract. And what they would do is: the government employees would work the case loads, and as soon as they got the accounts into paying status, they were programmed to shift over, automatically, to the private agency. And the private agency would get commissions on the money recovered. And the excuse the government used to discontinue the program was that government employees could not cost effectively service these accounts – when they had proof that we could.

But what's turning out to be the plan was that if they(the Department of Education) could say the program could not be profitable to the government, then they could discontinue it so that the people who would end up with no finance and no student loans would be minorities and usually Blacks and the disadvantaged.

Commemorator – So,minority students were getting butted out of the program.

Dozier – That's it. You see what happened to with Lawton School which was also at 1330 Broadway,(Oakland) in the very same building (They weren't there at the same time,I don't believe; they might have been, because that's the way the government works.)

But, the students in this Lawton School...they closed the school and the students who were going there had to sign up for loans. They didn't get trained, they didn't get placements; and some of them were scheduled to graduate – and they even canceled the graduation.

The kids protested but they got little media coverage. The Tribune is just around the corner from there and they had a small article in the middle of the paper.

I knew the director of the school. I asked her, "You don't think I'm going to be still and let this happen. You know me better than this."

And she said, "Well, these are people who don't have your education and skills and background. And I said that that's no excuse to rip these kids off. Just because I know what's going on, don't think I'm going to be still and let it happen to them. And I've been working and am still trying to get this exposed.

The people who would end up with no finance and no student loans would be minorities and usually Blacks and the disadvantaged.

PROTEST TO THE U.N.

Commemorator – In your protest letter to the United Nation's secretary general in 1986 you charged the U.S. government with extermination, or genocide against Blacks. What was the response?(see letter to UN on page 5)

Dozier – They didn't respond. But the reason I sent the letter was because I had seen a pattern. I didn't know how accurate the letter was until I saw the same Javier Perez de Cuellar, when he went over to supposedly have this "last chance for peace" talk with the Iraqi representative.

This is the way it turns out. I started working in 1974 for the Department of Education. If I was able to figure out 17 years ago that there was something wrong with an education program that should have helped minorities to get an education...this is the generation that

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INSIDE:

I WILL TELL MY CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN THAT HE WAS A HERO

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DOZIER

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everybody says is lost. Now, if I found something wrong 17 years ago, I believe they(the U.S. Government) had a plan in place even before I discovered it. I wasn't the only one who knew it; but I was the only one who said any thing about it.

They made it difficult for students to get funding through the Federally Insured Student Loan Program. So that meant that if they could not get this government funding, a lot of people joined the service...to get funding. If there were people who didn't have good enough grades to go to college in the first place, and couldn't get jobs. Those were the ones who ended up in the streets selling crack and killing each other.

So, they got rid of the ones who could possibly be educated by putting them in the service. We have some of our brightest and best on the front lines right now.

About two weeks ago, going to my mailbox, there was this young man in a Navy uniform and we started talking. He said, "I joined the service and was supposed to have gone to school in Tennessee, but they rewrote my orders and I'm headed for Saudi Arabia."

You see, they(the U.S. Government)planned to either have our kids dead, or in jail or killed in war.

Now,the reason I mention...in the letter to Secretary General de Cuellar: it was beginning to show that they have the young men and our children on drugs or in jail.

From slavery, and even in African countries the Black female has been the strong person who keeps the family together in a lot of cases. Our families have this tradition. So they see this strong Black woman have kept this race in place and helped it survive all these years, under all the awful things we've had to go through here in this country. With the kids and males in jail, dead or in wars, who they really have to deal with is the strong woman – all these strong women who've done all kinds of work; a lot of them had very good positions in government. So, just when it's time for them to retire, they(the U.S. Government) figure out a way to keep them from getting full benefits, or either ways to terminate them. And I fell into that trap. The only thing...is my record was so good that they have to take care of me the rest of my life. I was able to prove what I said, and everybody knows it.

Commemorator – Do you feel that because you exposed the fraud in the Federally Insured Student Loan Program had something to do their claiming that you were disabled so they could terminate you.

Dozier – I know it did, because they(the Department of Education) didn't want that program to work. If the program had worked, they would still have a lot of money recovered to re-loan for education. They didn't want that. They wanted an excuse to say that the program wasn't working.

Commemorator – Do you feel there is a need for some form of economic reparations for Black people?

Dozier – I'm working on it. When I was in Washington,D.C. I met Jan Jemison, a young attorney who said she wanted to do something to help our people. So we talked about what we needed to do. I said that I know there are a lot of people who are poor, can't afford a lawyer, or if they get one, the lawyer sells them out.

So, what we need is a group of people who are going to give people in trouble legal assistance and be a support group. Jan wrote a proposal to get legal assistants, attorneys and people who would type, file, xerox, or whatever, and it would be set up all over the United States for the incarcerated, the disabled or people who just needed the service. And they would have access to it seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day.

Commemorator – And you call this program the Action Plan for Black Justice, Legal Rights,Access, Redress, and Reparations.

Dozier – The reparations part comes in from my discovery of the Office of Redress Administration, which is under the Department of Justice.

For two years they computerized information about people who were placed in concentration camps, during World War II. They have the names of who was eligible and,in the case of death, if heirs were eligible. They took our tax money and set all this up; and all these people have to do is give them a birth certificate or some record of internment. When I called them up, the first thing they asked was if I had a Japanese surname. I asked if I had to have one and they said,no. So I said send me the information.

One of the things in the information they sent said something about people being forcibly brought to the United States from Latin America for internment and later acquired a change in immigration status, to permanent residency, retroactive to the internment period.

The part that jumped out at me was "those who were forcibly brought to the United States," because that's us. If these people who were forcibly brought can be reimbursed, and they were only interred for a few years; and here we have been in this condition for hundreds of years(we've worked for nothing). And they think that every time they have a program, they think they're giving us something...they can't possibly pay us enough. One of the things Minister Farrakhan said, "Add it up; we own these United States."

When I saw Attorney General Dick Thornburg apologize to the Japanese, I felt like I needed not only an apology...but this $20,000 check wasn't even big enough, because they owe me more than that in back pay.

The reason I filed a complaint against Judge Jensen is that he has held up between one-fourth and one-half million dollars in benefits of my money between five and six years. So here we've been in all this mess for hundreds of years.

And I found out something else,too. When Nelson Mandela was here I found out information on how to get recognition to bring human rights charges against the United States.

Any time a country does not value our lives, you know they don't value our ethnicity. You can't say anything but we've been given a death sentence – not only the ones on the front lines, but the ones here! And if those young people come back from that war;what are they coming back to? – the same mess they left.

Commemorator – On your program, The Action Plan for Black Justice...

Dozier – What we've done is, we have been going to court with people. By "we," I say like Jan and a few other people; and there are some paralegals, and I have even paid for people who couldn't afford the services. Like if they had to have a paralegal to research something or even do a motion or court document, we figure out a way to help them word it, and if they have to go to court we go to court with them. If they're having trouble with their SSI or whatever benefits they're getting, we make sure they get them. If they (the benefits) get stopped, we find out the cause, then we go and make sure they get started again, or we get a good reason why. We've been doing quite a bit for a long time.

There are a lot of people interested, and I tell them that the best thing they can do is to give service; and if somebody needs money they could help that way if they choose. But thing isn't the money; the idea is to get something done. Don't just sit and let people walk all over you.

I went to a seminar this past year, and an FBI representative said that if we wanted our civil rights protected, the first thing we should do is call the U.S. Department of Justice. And I jumped up and said, "Excuse me,sir. Are you telling me that in order to have my civil rights safeguarded, the U.S. Department of Justice attorneys will help me get my redress of whatever grievance." So he said , yes.

I said," Well explain this to me. For the past five years I have been in federal court, and the U.S. justice department's attorneys are counsel for the defendants, or the people who are preventing me from getting my rights. It appears very clear to me, and it should to you, that there is a conflict. How on earth can you be counsel for someone who's preventing me from having my rights and also be the one I'm supposed to contact if my rights are being violated?"

Continued on next page

PRESS RELEASE

UC BERKELEY STUDENT FEE INCREASES 40%

The Peace and Freedom Party and New Alliance Party recentlycalled a press conference on the steps of Sproul Hall on the UC Berkeley campus to protest the student fee increases approved by the UC Board of Regents. "A 40% tuition hike, threatened layoffs, and enrollment and service reductions affect people of color both at home and abroad...When More African-American men are incarcerated in the criminal justice system than enrolled in college...when people of color make up more than 60% of the U.S.' front line troops in the Middle East, many of whom enlisted to pay for a college education or to get skills for a decent job, we demand accountability from University administrators and from the elected offficials who put

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DOZIER

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Commemorator – Could you explain judge D. Lowell Jensen's role in your case?

Dozier – Yes. Judge Jensen engaged in conduct prejudicial to the business of the courts. He also perjured himself and dismissed my civil action for other than what's called judicial reasons. My case was dismissed in retaliation for my mentioning Wedtech and judge Jensen's association with former US Attorney General Edwin Meese III. I also questioned his ethics when I learned that he was involved in a lawsuit before he took the bench, which I since learned has caused charges of justice department corruption.

(Last December judge Jensen was accused by Inslaw Inc. owner, William Hamilton of corruption when he was deputy attorney general under Edwin Meese III, concerning a computer software company called Inslaw Inc.. According to Inslaw's owner, William Hamilton, that there was a conspiracy to drive him into bankruptcy so his contract and software could be taken over by a rival company connected to the justice department. Judge Jensen, according to Hamilton orchestrated an end to the contract and forced Inslaw Inc. into bankruptcy court. Judge Jensen had developed his own software program! According to the San Francisco Daily Journal, December 5, 1990, the Justice Department stonewalled in their indictment against Meese and Jensen under Attorney General Richard Thornburg).

Judge Jensen has denied me due process of law, and as a result of this actions or inactions, I've been deprived of life, liberty and property. This contributed to the aggravation of my health. During a conference in judge Jensen's chamber, I was placed in a hostile environment which resulted in the elevation of my blood pressure to such high level that I had to spend the next day in Merritt Hospital. Also he received many career advancement from former president, Ronald Reagan. When judge Jensen took the bench in the US district Court for the Northern District of California in 1986, he stated that he "Thanked former President Reagan for his appointment to the judgeship" and added that he would carry out his duties in a way Reagan expects, and of course the Reagan administration appeared to be blind, deaf, and dumb to the conditions which confront Black, women, the poor and disabled.

* Cartoon
* Graphic
* Commercial
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LOW WELFARE PAYMENT "FORCES PEOPLE TO LIVE OUTSIDE LIKE ANIMALS"

Alameda County's general assistanc welfare payments of $340 a month fail to take into account the needs of the county's poor, says a state appeals court.

The 3-0 decision ordered the county "without necessary delay" to study the needs of its poorest residents for such basics as food, shelter and clothing, and set a new payment level.

Welfare rights advocates said the court decision recognized a fact of life, that a person cannot rent a room and buy food and clothing on $340 a month.

"It makes me happy that someone finally has common sense in government," said Del Freeman, a board member of the Women's Economic Agenda Project in Oakland.

The lawsuit was filed by Lynn Carman, founder of the Bay Area Legal Foundation in San Francisco. He filed several suits in 1989 to increase welfare and MediCal benefits.

He said the current $340 grant, unchanged since November 1989, "forces people to live outside like animals for half the month" because it doesn't even cover a low-cost hotel room. He said a grant based on actual needs would have to rise by more than $170 a month.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN LEE'S LEGISLATION FOR MINORITY RIGHTS

SACRAMENTO - Oakland Assemblywoman Barbara Lee won approval of her first legislation - a resolution calling for the enactment of stronger civil rights laws in light of the disproportionate number of minority soldiers fighting in the Persian Gulf war.

The resolution, passed by the Assembly on a 42-23 vote, with most republicans opposing, calls on President Bush and Congress to approve civil rights legislation and encourage and finance educational opportunities for veterans of Operation Desert Storm.

Lee noted that many minority soldiers had enlisted in the military to help fund their college education.

She said 29 percent of the soldiers in the Middle East are Black people, who make up 12 percent of the population as a whole. She added that Hispanic people make up 22 percent of the U.S. armed forces, while only 8.1 percent of the population.

"What a paradox that they must fight to protect the civil rights of Kuwaitis when our own government won't even pass a civil rights act to protect the rights of its citizens," said Lee, referring to President Bush's veto last year of the 1990 Civil Rights Act.

"Many of these young men and women, because they lack economic options, have been forced to join the armed services."

The resolution also calls on Congress and the president to commit to providing economic, educational and vocational opportunities for minorities, to fund social service programs in minority communities and to support the human rights struggles of all people.

U.S. ALLIES HAVE POOR RIGHTS RECORDS

WASHINGTON - The State Department said in its annual report on human rights that the records of America's Persian Gulf war allies - Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Syria and Turkey - have an ongoing record of human rights violations.

The State Department's annual survey of human rights in 168 countries found that the record of Syria, an important ally against Baghdad, was barely distinguishable from that of Iraq, while Kuwait and Saudi Arabia regularly violated the rights of political prisoners and women.

The report said that Syria showed "no significant improvement" last year respecting human rights, and remained tightly restricted in virtually all categories."

The report said that the principal human rights concerns about Kuwait included "restrictions on freedom of assembly and speech, the right of citizens to change their government, women's and worker's rights, and instances of arbitrary arrest, mistreatment of prisoners, and lack of due process in trials of security cases."

In Saudi Arabia, the report said, "there are no elected assemblies or political parties, and all forms of political expression except those favorable to the regime are forbidding."

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ANC LEADER MANDELA AND ZULU CHIEF BUTHELEZI: END VIOLENCE BETWEEN BLACKS

DURBAN, South Africa — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, meeting here for the first time in more that 30 years, issued a dramatic joint appeal for an immediate end to the bloody rivalry among their followers that has taken more than 5,000 lives in the last five years.

Appearing together at a news conference after a day long meeting, the two leaders agreed they had achieved a major breakthrough toward restoring peace in South Africa's faction- torn Black community.

Buthelezi termed the meeting "a complete success" and said that despite the many deep policy differences between the two men "there was no acrimony whatsoever" during their discussions. Mandela said the problems that had kept the ANC and the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party at loggerheads for the past 12 years had been "fully addressed" and discussed "in a very cordial spirit."

"We can only hope that (a reduction in violence) will be the result of the breakthrough that we have arrived at today," Mandela said.

The parties said they have agreed to establish mechanisms to deal with future outbreaks of violence and "to desist from vilification of either of our organizations and leaders."

Mandela and Buthelezi also pledged to visit together the districts here in Natal province and in the Black townships around Johannesburg that had suffered most from the violence and to use joint crisis committees already established in those areas to resolve conflicts..

DEAL WITH THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS

George Bush and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir could have avoided the war if either of them were serious and honest about the need to deal with the Palestinian people and their legitimate national rights. Bush refused to link directly or sequentially the Palestinian question with a solution for the gulf crisis. Shamir failed to help the Bush administration isolate the gulf crisis from the Arab- Israeli conflict by providing political options.

In the face of creeping annexation of what remained of their homeland, the Palestinian people should not be blamed for hanging on to the straw that Iraq provided by its Aug. 12 initiative calling for linkage of all the ills of the Middle East. If there were the minimum of good intentions, people of good will could have tested the intentions of Iraq by agreeing to open negotiations.

For the past four years, the Palestinian intifada raged on with the intention of alerting Israeli society and the international community to the explosive status of the Palestinian people living under military occupation. The outbreak of war is another danger signal. This is the first time that the Israeli rear — the greater Tel Aviv area — has been hit. To make it the last time, the Israeli people have to persuade their government that enmity with the Arab countries, including Iraq, will spread if the Palestinian people cannot enjoy their legitimate national rights.

Israel, without any intimidation, should immediately work for a process to end the Israeli occupation. The land that both people call their homeland should be big enough for both people to live in peace and dignity in a two-state solution. The initiative today is in the hands of the Israeli government; it should respond to the peace overtures of the Palestine National Council of November 1988.

An immediate effort including all of us — Americans, Europeans, Arabs, Israelis and Palestinians, secular and religious, left and right, friend and foe — must be made to stop the war, to stop disaster and simultaneously to make a sharp about turn and take the steps that Europe has now taken to heal its divisions remaining from World War II.

Hanna Siniora - editor of the newspaper "Al-Fajr" in East Jerusalem.

KEEP SANCTIONS IN PLACE

Mr. N.T. Naiker, member of the African National Congress, former general secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, spoke at the National Labor College Sunday, Feb. 3 at the Western Service Workers Association, 1666 7th Street in Oakland.

Mr. Naiker, in his capacity as an attorney , provided legal defense for many ANC members. He was one of the co-defendants with Nelson Mandela in the treason trials of 1962.

The following is Mr. Naiker's speech:

Some of you might have noticed the news that appeared on our television sets as well as our newspapers, that is, President DeKlerk opening the 1991 session of Parliament in South Africa. And the main thesis of his opening address was that he was going to produce legislation in the near future which is going to remove certain cantankerous laws. He enumerated that by saying the 1931 Land Act, the 1936 Land Act, the Group Areas Act, and various other laws.

But what he failed to tell us was that he was going to scrap the Homelands. He didn't say,"Guys, we're going to get rid of the Homelands." Instead, about a couple of months ago, they were going to produce legislation, in the same House of Parliament, which was going to produce an educational bill that would affect the educational positions in the various Bantustans.

In other words, he was going to give more power to those particular Homelands to run their educational systems as they wanted to do so. He was inviting to that bill still ethnic divisions.

That bill was challenged by the opposition (the semi-opposition I call it, because the main opposition was the Conservative Party which rejected, of course, all of this new legislation that's going to come about - the Group Areas Act and so on). That was opposed by Ken Andrews of the Democratic Party, who said, "What kind of concept are we getting? You say freedom on the one hand, and you say the draconian policies which we have had in the Bantustans on the other hand. Now where are you going? What are you doing?"

We began to see; we smelled something here. For these reasons: number 1, he didn't announce in this session of the 1991 opening of the Parliament that he was going to set up a constituent assembly which will galvanize the entire South African population into voting. In other words, one man-one vote was never spoken about. He said nothing about an interim government that should take charge of the change, and bring about an orderly change. He said nothing about it.

That was one of the demands that was made by the African National Congress. Previously, the ANC also made a demand: let the exiles return to South Africa and grant them full indemnity. Release all political prisoners and cease trials in the country.

He (DeKlerk) said nothing about those things.

So what are we looking at? We'll clap for Deklerk. Okay, we're gratified that you are removing the laws that impede upon the land quest. But are you going to tell these people, eventually, "You are Zulu. Go back to your Homeland. You are a Xhosa. Go back to your Xhosa Homeland. You are Lesotho. Go back to either northern Sotho or Lesotho."

He flatly refused to entertain any discussion in this session of Parliament on these two very important demands; that is, constituent assembly and new constitution, and the question of having an interim government.

I want to quote from the Sacramento Bee. Nelson Mandela's own words: "Whatever changes have been brought about, the reality is that apartheid is still in force. We still have no votes, we can't be members of parliament, the state organs are still dominated by whites, the police are still harassing, persecuting, and even killing our people," speaking of South Africa's 30 million Blacks.

So this is the situation we have reached today. So, if you come across any other news that says DeKlerk is doing a wonderful thing; as a matter of fact, Nelson says (big headlines) "Keep sanctions in place!"

He sent a special letter to Washington, appealing to President Bush to see that sanctions are maintained.

Don't fall for this ruse, until we have the vote. Until we have the checkbook in our pocket. Until we can go to the bank, don't open that bank. Get the picture.

U.S. TROOPS AUTHÓRIZED TO USE GAS AGAINST IRAQI FORCES

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon has authorized the U.S. commander in the Persian Gulf to use non-lethal gases against Iraqi forces and prisoners of war, administration officials said.

"We think the commander (field commander, Gen. Schwartzkopf) should have the authority to use tear gas in search and rescue operations is the reason," said Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams.

He claimed that the United States would use the gases "only in very specific instances."

The decision was immediately questioned by some chemical- warfare experts who said that even the introduction of non- lethal gases could give Iraqi President Saddam Hussein a pretext to escalate in any retaliation by using the lethal chemical weapons that are already deployed with his elite forces.

Some military officials expressed frustration that the threat of Iraqi chemical-weapons attacks has forced U.S. and allied forces to spend many hours a day in cumbersome gas masks and protective clothing while no similar allied threat has encumbered Iraqi forces.

But some of these officials and coalition members acknowledged what one called the "worrisome" potential that even the use of tear gases by U.S. forces would hand President Hussein a propaganda weapon and a pretext to escalate to something worse.

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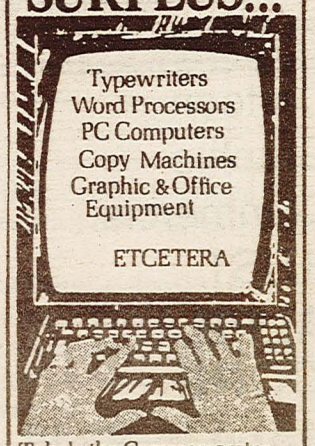

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Honorable Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
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Dear Sir:

A diabolical plan for the extermination of the Black ethnic group is taking place in the nation known as the United States of America. In Adolph Hitler's Germany a plan called the final solution was used to exterminate another ethnic group. In Ronald Reagan's America, I have no information about the title for the plan. However, I call it "subtle genocide". I have learned that "in order to understand the future (present), one must study the past."

By studying the past, I have discovered by reading Alex Haley's "The Autobiography of Malcolm X" that millions of pounds of opium were sent to China.

> "By 1839, so many of the Chinese were addicts that China's desperate government destroyed twenty thousand chests of opium. The first Opium War was promptly declared by the white man. Imagine! Declaring war upon someone who objects to being narcoticized! The Chinese were severly beaten, with Chinese-invented gunpowder."

In my hometown, Oakland, California, a drug war is currently raging. Blacks are dying daily. Our youth lose their lives in gang wars before they learn the true meaning of life. Oakland Tribune reporter, Brenda Payton, always seems to present me with a feasible analysis of local crises. On Friday, September 5, 1986, Ms. Payton wrote:

> "The popularity of the drug trade is hardly a mystery. In every story about the drug crisis the same point is made. Young black men are attracted to the trade because they have no alternatives. With no job opportunities, no skills, no education, what else is there for them to do?
>
> The point is not offered to excuse their criminality, simply to explain it. Trapped in dead-end ghettoes, they see the drug trade as their only escape. The corrupt despair that turns children into drug peddlers is not simply caused by a lack of jobs, it's the result of the lack of a future."

Future generations will be mutants afflicted with diseases the origins of which can be traced back to their "narcoticized" forebearers. Historically, it has been recorded that Black families have survived because of the Herculean efforts of Black women. Now, the matriarch is being destroyed. When she goes, extermination of the Black family will have been completed. Please recognize this "final solution" or "subtle genocide". Hundreds of millions of dollars are allocated for war. Next to nothing is allocated for the "war on poverty".

Recently, I read a newspaper article written by another courageous Black female reporter, Lorene Marks. Ms. Marks reported that:

> "It appears that many Blacks who are facing retirement are often fired for so-called violations, leaving them with very little income or compensation because of the nature of charges."

In another article, Ms. Marks reported that:

> "Race, age, and sex discrimination in the postal service industry rums rampant in the 80's. The target is the Black female, head of household, who has minor children to support."

For more than a decade of my life, I have been fighting the U.S. government for the right to have equal employment opportunities or to peacefully coexist in "the land of the free and the home of the brave". While President Ronald Reagan was lighting the Statue of Liberty, I was still waiting to be free. The Statue of Liberty should light up. Her blush of embarrassment should be seen around the world. She should also jump off of her pedestal, dive into the sea, and swim back to Europe! "Nobody is free until everybody is free!

I worked as a government employee for almost twenty (20) years. But, just before I became eligible for retirement, I was terminated from a career civil service appointment. Now I see the "Lady" every month. She appears on the face of my SSI Disability check, a check which runs out before the month barely begins. Therefore, it is needless to say that the check runs out before the month ends. Clearly, my SSI Disability income is insufficient to meet basic human needs.

Obviously, I cannot afford an attorney. A U.S. District Court judge refused my request for the appointment of counsel. Therefore, I have been forced to argue my own case at five (5) Federal Court hearings. More hearings are still pending!

The media has been saturated with the details of the Whitworth espionage trial. One of the first newspaper articles that I read about this case stated that "U.S. Attorney Joseph Russoniello calls it one of the most important espionage cases since World War II." The following oath of allegiance was printed:

> "I, JERRY A. WHITWORTH, do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign and domestic: that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same."

When I began my civil service career, I took the same oath! However, not one word was printed at that time about the old, ugly, poor, disabled, Black female who was appearing down the hall, in the same court building, at the same time, in propria persona and in forma pauperis!

One source on poverty law states that "a constitutional law that explicitly and sympathetically incorporates problems of poverty is useless to the poor if they do not have the ability to invoke it." The prospect of having William Rehnquist as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court fills me with despair. President Reagan is a well-known foe of the Legal Services programs for the poor. As a Reagan appointee, Rehnquist will undoubtedly further impede legislation which should benefit the poor and the Black.

On June 3, 1986, President Reagan nominated Deputy Attorney General D. Lowell Jensen to be a judge in U.S. District Court, in San Francisco, California. My last court hearing was on June 4, 1986. On July 19, 1986, local newspapers reported that Judge D. Lowell Jensen was sworn in and took the bench. Attorney General Edwin Meese III was present at that ceremony.

I received an order signed by Chief Judge Robert F. Peckham, "In the Matter of the Reassignment of Cases", dated July 29, 1986. Newly appointed Judge D. Lowell Jensen was assigned my cases (random selection?)!

I filed an "Affidavit of Disqualification of Honorable D. Lowell Jensen" on August 11, 1986. As Deputy Attorney General in the U.S. Department of Justice, one of D. Lowell Jensen's duties was to assist Attorney General Edwin Meese III.

> "The Attorney General, as head of the Department of Justice and chief law officer of the Federal Government, represents the United States in legal matters generally and gives advice and opinions to the President and to the heads of the executive departments of the Government when so requested. The Attorney General appears in person to represent the Government in the U.S. Supreme Court in cases of exceptional gravity or importance."

My civil actions against the U.S. Department of Education were amended to name the proper party, William J. Bennett, Secretary, U.S. Department of Education, et. al., defendants. U.S. Justice Department attorneys are counsels for the defendants. As you can plainly see, Judge D. Lowell Jensen should be disqualified or he should disqualify himself.

Sir, I am writing you this letter to request rules and procedures for The International Court of Justice (World Court) in order to file charges against President Ronald Reagan for Human Rights violations. Articles 7 and 8 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights state:

> "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.
>
> Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the Constitution or by law."

The above quoted articles have sufficiently expressed the sum total of my beliefs. A written response is requested.

Respectfully submitted,

Flora Grace Dozier
Flora Grace Dozier
Plaintiff

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THE COMMEMORATOR

Published by The Commemoration Commitee for The Black Panther Party

"SERVING ALL OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES"

Volume I Number 4 February 1991 Oakland, California

OPINION-EDITORIAL

P.O.W. /REPRESSION/ HUMAN RIGHTS

According to international law prisioner of war(P.O.W.): "those combatants struggling against colonial and alien domination and racist regimes captured as prisoners are to be accorded the status of prisoners of war and their treatment should be in according with the provisions of the Geneva Conventions Relative to treatment of Prisoners of War, of August 1949. (General Assembly Resolution 3103 (XXVIII))."

What do Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt),a Black man and a former leader of the Black Panther Party's southern California Chapter(Los Angeles)and Leonard Peltier, a Native American man and a leader of the American Indian Movement(AIM), have in common besides gender?

Certain people that were a part of (or witness)the Human/Civil Rights Movement over the past decades can perhaps answer these questions the best. But it is very likely that the majority of Americans who have only superficially heard of these men the to them is that both men are incarcerated within U.S. prisons "therefore they are guilty of something wrong."

Another reason why the reality of these men's decades ofincarceration is not to clear to the majority of the people: ji Jaga and Peltier were framed by the secret work of the U.S. Government (The FBI's counter intelligence program—COINTEL-PRO) for their organizing and combating repression,racism andcolonial domination within their respective community

While it is common knowledge with certain folks that the FBI's COINTEL-PRO operated back during the height of the Human/Civil Right Movement some 20 years ago (up to the present)with impunity as an instrument of U.S. Government repression, it is not common knowledge with others—the majority of the American people.

Throughout the 60's and 70's, the U.S. Government and right wings forces, for instance,the Klu KluxKlan the John Birch Society,targeted specific groups and individuals that the government perceived as a threat to the internal security of the United State, such as the Black Panther Party's ji Jaga and the American Indian Movement's Peltier, as well as other groups such as the Nation of Islam, the Republic New Africa and the NAACP. Dirty tricks, disinformation, bmbing, burglaries, illegal surveillance, political frame-ups and assassinations were the order of the day throughout this era. These heinous crimes were clandestinely carried out bytheFBI's COINTEL-PRO with impunity

And,today,theBush administration's manufactured imperial war in the Middle-east escalates in leaps and bounds, yet the struggle for Human Rights for Prisoner of War(P.O.W.) and political prisoners within Amerika have not grown in proportion. That is why it is critical at this time that we build public support for Human Rights, such as the freedom for-Geronimo ji Jaga and Leonard Peltier'and other P.O.W.s and political prisoners, because their struggle for freedom is directly tied to the struggle for African Americans and Native Americans struggle for liberation not only in Amerika but throughout the world.

VICTOR HALL
PHOTOGRAPHY
153 SEVENTEENTH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94612 (415) 465-9103

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The COMMEMORATOR is free of charge to the general public throughout the Bay area. Its present circulation is 10,000 copies. The newspaper encourages grassroots organizing and networking for people empowerment and community control of the institutions effectiving change.

In other words, the COMMEMORATOR IS A PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY FORUM. it offers the community at large the opportunity to help solve some of the critical problems that affect us all. For instance, the lack of decent shelter, medical care, education and employment for all people as well as the pollution of the environment, racism and discrimination at large are indeed real problems that affect us all.

It is generally recognized by critical thinkers that the surest and fastest (and perhaps the only) way to solve a problem is to first acknowledge it—the COMMEMORATOR challenges the community at large to act in its broadest interest by supporting grassroots development for positive and revolutionary change.

PROCLAMATION OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN MEN

Here in the United States, in 1991, as we rush convulsively towards the 21st century, the failures, inadequacies and tragedies of this heterogeneous society as a result of uncontrolled politics and policies, now finds the American government at the brink of another foreign war adventure and its people at the precipice of domestic economic recession.

There are those enpowered who would dare lead rational people to believe that the ebb and flow of our social, economic and political condition is a temporary abberation, and that society and its manipulators will correct any imbalances.

Yet, there is sufficient evidence, that the day to day and long term visions and continued development of America, and we, are not being considered for any significant roles in sharing or administering the wealth of this country. Effectively then, African-American men are being incrementially frozen out of and denied access to the economic domain.

The wrongs done to African-American men since the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation can never be re-visited, that promise of forty acres and a mule can never be kept, the original vision of the Civil Rights Act can not be achieved, but the reversal of trends, which would leave African-Ameriacn men unable to sufficiently and effectively participate in the economic and subsequent political gains of society, can be realized even beyond the past and current limits of benign neglect.

There are those who will say, that the African-American man has hurt himself, has put himself into a pit, or has refused to, or is unwilling to rise to those levels, which the dominant society finds acceptable and successful. If that be the opinion of the few or a myth of the many, then let the skeptics and cynics take note; we will not disappear due to the claimed omnipotence of the power-holders; we will not be swept out of the economy with a broom as if we some stray mongrel; we will not accept the status of whipping boy or doormat. We will demonstrate instead, that our humanity has no boundaries, and that our values, longings and quests can indeed stand the test of sterner stuff.

African-American men choose to transcend the barriers of ahistorical ignorance and institutional defamations. We refuse to continue on this path of piecemeal acceptance of life's neccessities, and we choose to correct this ill-charted social course which was never designed with our continued survival in mind.

Too often it is being written and said, that "Black men are an endangered species", and that in all aspects of life in this society, we are more at risk than any other cultural or ethnic group. But it must be understood, that we will not be randomly hunted for sport like the American buffalo, nor sacrificed for profit like the African elephant.

To the contrary, African-American men intend to discard the shackles of both perceived and real inequities; it is our intention to pursue natural aspirations and wants, in the face of administrative and political adversity, social fears and indifference, and even in the absence of government benevolence.

We affirm that there must not be, there can not be anymore tragedies such as the Brownsville Massacre, no more Port Chicago catastrophes, no more Scottsboro Boys injustices, no more Tuskegee Experiments or any other trail of tears which would seek to disenfranchise, threaten or otherwise undermine the continued survival and well-being of African-American men and the communities from which they spring.

If the world social order is to progress, then American institutions and its apparatus must understand that African-American men will not wither away by our own hands. Somehow, we can and will work towards that commonality of olden African times...when strangers met, and asked each other their names...simply replied...I AM WE.

Where there are malevolent powers that would plan and act against our best interests, let them henceforth contend with this; four-hundred years of calamity has deepened our resolve and broadened our understandings; Black men, African-American men are not the weak men of America.

RESPONDING TO RADICAL RACISM

David Horowitz Barely Remembered

By Elaine Brown
(copyright May 1990)

USING HUEY TO ATTACK THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Continued from last issue

When I spoke at the funeral of Huey Newton in August of 1989, Horowitz suggests I was eulogizing a "thug who had terrorized the Oakland underworld in the seventies."

I had spent 10 years of my life in the Black Panther Party, most of them by Huey's side — eventually becoming Chairman of the Party. Those 10 years form the essence of my life.

Horowitz's statement accuses me of spending those years either in complicity with or being the foolish follower of a "thug" — a portraiture of Huey seemingly snatched from the files of the FBI.

As the product of a North Philadelphia ghetto (not, for the record, as Horowitz misstates, Los Angeles), and of the pain and suffering of but one of millions of Black families in America, I joined the Party because it held out a promise to me, a hope that life did not have to mean the misery of my mothers. Then I met Huey after that, after his three years in prison, I enthusiastically re-committed myself to the Party and to his brilliant agenda. It was an agenda of which I was fully and intelligently conscious.

Horowitz characterizes that agenda as "evil," one that seemingly coursed the River Styx in Horowitz's Hades. He suggests that I, as well as my comrades in the Black Panther Party, were — like Horowitz's "white radicals" — "mesmerized" into accepting Huey's "evil" agenda. Thus, he colors his illusion of Huey as a "thug" by referring to the Party as Huey's "gang."

Horowitz opens this part of his attack with the ridiculous statement that the Party was engaged in "criminal activity" that "began with a boycott." He embellishes that figure of speech with the uninspired claim that the "boycott" had to do with "extorting protection money." The accusation made, Horowitz does not — as he cannot — elaborate. Besides this irrational discrediting of the legal, non-violent American tradition of "boycotting." Horowitz unreasonably creates a relationship between the boycott and "criminal activity."

The simple truth of the matter was that the Party became engaged in a lengthy boycott of a Black-owned liquor store in order to force the owner to remove a brand of liquor from his shelves, a brand whose manufacturer was, we felt a recalcitrant racist.

Horowitz then pieces together his puzzle image of the Black Panther Party with disjointed verbiage about Panthers as a "gang of criminals," whose "gangster operation" included a "hit squad." This imagery is supported by a single piece of "information": a magazine article written (in 1978) by a woman named Kate Coleman — so offensive a human being, I had to personally eject her from my office. Some time before she was able to finally find a publisher for her ugly article.

Their combined allusions to "gangsterism" center on Coleman's yellow-journalistic fabrications regarding a very serious issue. The Party — under the Central Committee, of which I was a member — analyzed that the "pimps," drug dealers and operators of after-hours joints in the Black community formed an internal menace and were counter-productive to Black liberation. We decided to force such "illegitimate businessmen" (beginning with those in Oakland, the home of our national headquarters) to stop their practices or contribute a percentage of their "ill-begotten" profits to the benefit of their community. We never sold drugs, "pimped" or operated after-hours joints. We did, however, do everything possible (during Horowitz's "seventies") to make life very difficult for such operators. If we "encroached" on any operation in that world, as he further suggests, it was on that of the Berkeley and Oakland police who were, it was widely known, the actual recipients of Horowitz's "protection money."

In a strange twist, Horowitz then makes the contradictory "accusation" that the Party was not violent enough. This comes in connection with the Horowitz version of the expulsion of Eldridge Cleaver from the Party.

When Eldridge was expelled, in 1971, a number of other partymembersjoined forces with him. The whole business became commonly cited as "the Split." with Walter Winchell-like histrionics, Horowitz charges that because of that exodus of disgruntled Panthers — whom he defines as Party "militants," despite his continuing whining about Huey's "violence" — Huey "triggered" a "turf war."

From the safety of foreign shores, Eldridge Cleaver had tried to push the Party into becoming what he deemed "more militant," by carrying out arbitrary acts of violence (ed., kidnappings and bombings). He took such a preposterous position primarily to keep himself in good stead with his new, anti-Zionist friends, all holed up together with their Algerian hosts. The dispute erupted when Huey was released from prison and rebuked Eldridge for grandstanding with valueless propositions, that, if acted upon, would be dangerous only to the Party.

There was no "turf" over which to "war," as there was no "split." There was, however, violence attached to Eldridge's resistance to being expelled for refusing to accept the Party's decision. That violence cost several lives. It was not a proud moment. No one was "thrilled" by it — as Horowitz mindlessly asserts. It was a difficult moment, but one in which neither Huey Newton nor the Party refuted the tragic necessity of the use of violence in our revolution.

The most incredibly outrageous attack on the Party, however, comes with Horowitz's outright reactionary portrayal of the assassinations and deaths of Panthers as being mostly the result of "crazy niggers" killing "crazy niggers."

Quoting from no more reliable a source than a brother journalist, someone named Edward Epstein, writing in the New Yorker magazine, Horowitz recreates history. All Panthers — in the Horowitz-Epstein account — died either as "criminals"

or "in conflicts with other black militants" or in "provoked" shootouts with police. Utilizing the very phraseology of the FBI, Horowitz goes so far as to state that the FBI under its Domestic Intelligence Division (Division Five) and COINTELPRO operations, was blameless and virtually uninvolved in any of those deaths.

Horowitz's most glaring lie here has to do with the assassination of Fred Hampton. It is uncontroverted that Fred was murdered by Illinois State Police under the aegis of the FBI. Fred's savage assassination is characterized by the insensitive Horowitz, however, as the result of "Panther provocation."

Continued Next Issue

A TRIBUTE TO BLACK HISTORY MONTH

The COMMEMORATOR acknowledges the 26 anniversary of the assassination of El-Hajj Malik(Malcolm X) a Black American hero, muslim, and dedicated to the liberation of African Americans. As a revolutionary leader , El-Hajj Malik never compromised his stance against his oppressor. He was assassinated February 22, 1965 as he spoke at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem New York. The following quotations were made by him after returning from Mecca-where his thinking underwent considerably changed- in 1964.

"Whether you use bullets or ballots, you've got to aim well; don't strike at the puppet, strike at the puppeteer."

"I'm not a racist. I'm not condemning Whites for being Whites, but for their deeds. I condemn what Whites collectively have done to our people collectively."

"Power never takes a back step— only in the face of more power. Power doesn't back up in the facd of a smile, or in the face of a threat, or in the face of some kind of non-violent loving acgtion. It's not the nature of powerto back up in the face of anything but some more power."

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STOP WAR AGAINST BLACK COMMUNITY

While I applaud the numbers of people who are beginning to pour out into the streets in opposition to the war, I also have to wonder how it is that so many can ignore the $10 billion war being waged right here at home.

Right here in some sectors of Oakland people experience the omnipresent helicopters hovering overhead and live surrounded by militarized police forces carrying assault weapons and wearing flak jackets. So even as we demonstrate for peace thousands of miles away we have in this country the highest prison rate in the world - four times higher than in South Africa. That means that 3,100 out of every 100,000 Black people are incarcerated and 25 percent of young Black men are tied to the prison system.

Even though 80 percent of drug use and sales is by white people, and even though the highest level of complicity by the U.S. government-CIA in the drug trade has been well documented, the government continues to justify this racist war at home under the absurd guise of the "war on drugs."

Our growing anti-war movement needs to abandon its double standard and protest war on both fronts. Stop the U.S. war in the Middle East. Stop the U.S. war against the Black community.

Penny Hess

LETTERS

I AM QUITE ELATED

Please find enclosed a cashiers' check in the amount of twelve dollars ($12) for a two year subscription to the rebirth of the BPP newspaper.

As you can see by the date on the check, I have been a bit tardy in mailing it to you, but please do not think that it is any indication of my lack of support for your efforts. On the contrary, I am quite elated and pleased by the prospect of seeing the revival of the BPP community voice and communicator again.

I can speak with some sense of personal interest and knowledge of the Party as I am the founding president of the BLACK STUDENTS' UNION and the originator of the School of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State College in the sixties. Many of the Black students from that period were very active in the Free Huey fund raising given at the Fillmore Auditorium, as it was known at that time, on Geary Boulevard.

Additionally, they were also members of the core cadre of both students and community people who became the vanguard of political activism and consciousness of that era. Landon Williams became a student at SFSC as a result of our efforts to recruit and enroll more militant Black males into college.

It has a period of both great challenges, high energy, unity, and acknowledgement of ourselves as a nation of people, willing and able to determine our own destiny.

As a pioneer I see that those same challenges are still in our midst, and far greater than in the sixties. Fortunately we have the experience and the vision to meet those challenges, though they are greater because of the COINTELPRO, and certain knowledge of how to avoid those same pitfalls.

I anticipate a greater force will prevail against the so- called immovable object this time.

Yours for our self-determination,
Maryom Ana Al-Wadi

MANY HAVING ALREADY SERVED REGULAR MILITARY DUTY NOW BEING CALLED BACK BECAUSE OF WAR

Already swamped draft counseling services say they've been deluged with calls from panicked reservists since the Army called up 20,000 members of its Individual Ready Reserve.

The inactive reservists, who are newly retired from the military, must report for duty.

"These are people who did not expect to be recalled, they thought they were out of the military," David Freedman, of the central Committee for Conscientious Objection, said.

Many of the people in the Ready Reserve asked to be placed there so they could get early release from the military because of ongoing medical or psychological problems, said Cynthia Crowner, an assistant pastor at Montclair Presbyterian Church.

Others, Freedman said, finish their regular military tour of duty and are then placed on IRR status not realizing what it could mean.

"I consider it recruiter fraud," said Freedman. "But recruiters assure people when they serve their four years they're done, that IRR is a technicality." But in reality, Freedman said, Army enlistment contracts call for a minimum number of years in active duty, with IRR service to fill out the contract period.

With the war in the Persian Gulf looming since Iraq's Aug. 2 reclaiming of Kuwait, regular members of the military and active reservists have had lots of time to decide what to do if ordered to the gulf. But members of the IRR, caught of guard by the call-up, haven't had time to file claims for conscientious objector status.

Freedman estimated that about 4.000 members of the U.S. military have begun the process to get conscientious objector status.

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I WILL TELL MY CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN THAT HE WAS A HERO

By Marianne Olguin

The Black Panthers began in October of 1966 in West Oakland and grew to a nationwide organization, which gained worldwide attention, dedicated to improving the quality of life for Black Americans.

The ten point program they advocated was as follows:

1. We want freedom. we want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present- day society.
6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people.
8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the U.S.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a U.N supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colony in which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny.

Many others had similar requests but the Black Panthers were the first to actively enforce them. The result was unbridled persecution at every level of law enforcement from the Oakland Police Department to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Huey Newton was not Dr. Martin Luther King; nor was he Gandhi or Malcolm X. He couldn't be like them. He had to be himself. He couldn't copy anyone else because he had his own style.

Complicated and controversial, he was unique. His self confidence was called arrogance. But he was hope to young Blacks who needed to express the rage of 250 years of oppression.

He was a threat to older folks who had learned to live with the oppression (and felt threatened by youngsters who might cause them to lose the few freedoms they had painfully acquired).

While the community approved of the programs instituted by the BPP, not everyone was in favor of the means by which they were accomplished. One person living in the community at the time called them thugs, and disagreed with their boycott of a Black owned liquor store... Others disapproved of the use of drugs and alcohol by Newton but did not deny that he had done much to earn the respect of the community.

The Black Panther Party programs included: Ethnic Studies at Merritt College; The Intercommunal Youth Institute; Free Breakfast for School Children; Sickle Cell Anemia Research and testing programs; S.A.F.E (Seniors Against A Fearful Environment) Program; Free Medical Research Health Clinics; Free Busing to Prisons Programs; Free Commissary for prisoners Program; Free Ambulance Program; Free Plumbing and Pest Control Program; Free shoes and Clothing Program; voter registration; transportation to better grocery stores where people could purchase fresh food. They encouraged people of all ages to return to school.

Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party gave me a new awareness of the Black perspective. Their attitude toward the police was the same as mine. It reminded me of my own personal experience in the Hispanic community in Denver, Colorado.

I witnessed police brutality and racism. Like African Americans my family and most in my community have been in this country over 300 years. My grandmother's brother was lynched by the Ku Klux Klan. We had some common experiences.

My first encounter with the Black Panthers was in the classroom. I had braced myself for a confrontation for these reasons: my experience with racism on the part of Black clerks at the Eastmont Mall; one or two hostile neighbors; the all-Black P.T.A. at Markham Elementary School where my children attended; and, of course, vilification of the BPP by the press.

I was surprised. The Black Panthers were courteous, gentle, intelligent, serious students. They walked proudly and exuded an air of confidence and determination that was impressive. I began to listen to the BPP rhetoric and found that it made sense. They were saying the things I was learning in history and government classes.

I was learning that what white people did was called "manifest destiny", and when Hispanics did it they were called non-citizens and bandits; but when Black people demanded equal rights they were called destructive, treacherous and subversive.

The Black Panther Party helped elect Mayor Wilson, who declined an invitation to Newton's funeral...

I applaud Huey Newton's courage, vision and intelligence.

He was a human being with failings: but the good he accomplished far outweigh the bad. I will forever respect Huey Newton for taking the risks that he did. No amount of yellow journalism will change my opinion. I will tell my children and grandchildren that he was a hero. We all have faults, but how many of us have done even a fraction of what he did.

On Prison

by Comrade Muslim Ibn Al-Haqq

In order to understand the implications of California's Proposition 139, as well as its de facto imprisonment of American labor; it is necessary to proceed from a revolutionary working definition which enables us to identify the elements of fascism from common and precise criteria. Fascism exists as a clinical condition whenever the forces which are most hostile and reactionary toward labor have consolidated themselves in a position of power, through intermarriage between the government and big business against the interest of labor and for purposes which would destroy or neutralize the abilities of organizations of the working class to advance working class interests.

Fascism is further characterized by government provision of *public resources*, including caged labor to guarantee maximum *private profit* at minimum risk of dissent for that elite minority. In the U.S. of today, fascism's particular modus operandi can be seen, for example, in H.U.D.'s use of tax dollars to finance private developers who have made millions by displacing low income residents from their homes in the name of redevelopment. Another example is the savings and loan's inside job and subsequent bail out/cover up. These robbers stole billions in concerted conspiracy, and are rewarded for their crime in the government bail out. Who says crime doesn't pay? You've just got to have the right class!

And now we have California's Proposition 139. These three examples disclose just a small part of a patterned practice of guaranteed maximum *private profit*, government provision of *public resources* including: subsidies, tax credits, government insurance funds, no- or low-interest bank loans, below-market rate purchase of lease commercial real estate options and, as in the case of Proposition 139, a caged labor force under complete government control.

The deceitful "forked tongue rhetoric" of Proposition 139 is neither new nor innovative. Much of its ideology and language is drawn from the federal statutes which regulate federal prison work release programs. (See Title 18, Chapters 85 and 307 United States Code) Proposition 139 takes the release out, as the work will be done inside the cages. Moreover, the California state constitutional provisions that apply date back to 1849 in Article 1, Section 18 which predates and agrees with the fifteen word exception in the federal constitution's Thirteenth Amendment which allows slavery and involuntary servitude only as punishment for a crime. In 1879, the state was prohibited from contracting with private business for prison slave labor. In 1974, Article 1, Section 6 prohibited only slavery, while leaving intact involuntary servitude as punishment for a crime. In 1990, Proposition 139 rolled back the clock to 1879, by once again allowing the state to contract with private enterprise for caged labor.

The argument in favor of Proposition 139 is even more deceitful. It flies in the face of common sense by substituting reaction for reason. Its proponents claim that the state will save money by forcing the slaves themselves to use up to 80% of their wages to pay the cost of maintaining the slave system and perpetuating themselves as slave laborers. The first logical question is whether 80% of individual slave's wages would be enough to offset the cost of prisons. For example, is the government claiming that this will offset the cost of prison medical, dental, psychological and psychiatric services when government figures show that at least 37 million people outside of prison (some who work in hospitals) don't earn enough to afford health care? Is the government claiming that this will offset the prison cost of providing food, heat, light, shelter and security when government figures show that millions of workers on the outside including families and children don't earn enough to have a place to lay their head, not to mention a meal, heat, light or security services?

The second logical question is: what will this do to unemployment, tax, welfare and incarceration rates since massive numbers of prisoners would have to be hired for the total of collective wages paid to be high enough for the up to 80 percent deductions to have any impact on costs? Wouldn't this have a tendency to increase unemployment on the outside? We know that there is a direct corollary between rise in unemployment and rise in numbers of incarcerations, which raises tax rates. Since more money would be needed to finance increased welfare and unemployment benefits resulting from loss of jobs, notwithstanding that unemployment is the major factor consistently proven to increase the incarceration rate, any prison costs offset would be wiped out.

The third logical question is: since this scenario tends toward the expansion of both the size of the caged labor force and amount of national production based on caged labor, what are the socioeconomic, political and military implications of this fundamental transformation in the mode of production, for both American labor and American fascism? We know the use of slave labor will lower wages in similar industries on the outside, because these industries will have to compete for markets who use slave labor and so cut their costs.

This is the first in a regular series of messages and "writings from within" which represent both the fact that Comrade George Jackson, our beloved "Soledad Brother," lives among all who take it upon themselves to promote the continuation of his work. As I said when our beloved brother Huey P. Newton was gunned down: the only tribute a fallen warrior is bound to accept is the outstretched hand that picks up his or her fallen spear and thrusts it through the heart of the common enemy.

About Comrade Muslim Ibn Al-Haqq

Born in Harlem, New York at the beginning of the 1950's, Ibn's mother was a factory worker in New York City's garment district. His father was an ex-prize fighter who became a truck driver. Ibn's history of community activism, and as a labor and prison organizer, dates back to the '60's. He is a former Minister of Nation of Islam and Imam of the World Community of Islam. He was closely associated with the Boston BPP. Currently serving a life sentence, he is a self-taught jail house para-legal who has successfully won release of four fellow prisoners.

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CIVIL RIGHTS ARE THE FIRST CASUALTY OF THE GULF WAR

WASHINGTON — The American Civil Liberties Union said it has increasing evidence that civil rights are becoming "a first casualty" of the gulf war, and urged President Bush to speak out against "racist attacks" on individuals of Arabic ancestry.

Morton H. Halperin, director of the Aclu office, said the federal government is using powers given it during the Cold War years to engage in "further unjustified limitations of constitutional rights."

Congress should re-examine those powers and eliminate many , he said, because "if these powers are around, they will be used in time of war."

One of the incidents he cited was the seizure of an Iraqi merchant seaman from a vessel in Baltimore last wednesday night, and the seaman's detention in a jail for more than three days.

That event, Halperin said, was of doubtful legality even if the federal government did have authority to prevent the seaman from leaving his vessel.

The ACLU's new complaints of threats to civil liberties put the heaviest blame on the FBI, accusing it of "the most serious violation" of the rights of Americans of Arabic ancestry. The FBI, Halperin said, was "using authority given it during the Cold War" to deal with security threats, but was using that power to question Arab Americans in "improper" ways about their views on the war and their views on Iraq.

That kind of questioning, when there is no basis for belief that a specific individual is personally a threat, violates both federal privacy law and the Constitution, the ACLU leader said.

Halperin said the ACLU was getting seven or eight calls a day about various civil liberties violations related to the war, including suppression of anti-war activities of high school students; firing of service members from their jobs because they were called to active duty in the gulf; sending conscientious objectors in the military to the war zone; threatening gay members of the military with service in the gulf; and threatening federal workers if they take part in anti-war activities.

BUSH LOSING SLEEP OVER THE WAR

The drumbeat kept up by anti-war demonstrators in Lafayette Park across from the White House is getting under President Bush's skin.

Bush reportedly said to lawmakers, "Those damned drums are keeping me up all night," according to an account in the New York Times.

But Barbara Bush dismissed the report. "He never heard it," she said of the drumbeating; although she admitted that she had heard the drums on occasion.

The first lady said that if her husband looks a bit tired these days, it's because he is. After all, "this is war," she said.

He's been tired because he's been up at night, she told reporters at the White House.

Steve McCutchen

On the African-American Men's Crises Commission

During an informal gathering in East Oakland,CA. a group of African American men,many of whom were unfamiliar with the calamities of the Vietnam War era awaited the pending U.S. government action in the Persian Gulf. As conversations drifted over areas of child-rearing, neighborhood violence, legal problems, meaningless employment or unemployment, and the lack of rewarding life-long pursuits, a shadow of cynicism seemed to settle in.

Out of this scattering of low-key observations, questions and debates, a single galvanizing statement seemed to echo the past, present and those possible tomorrows of not only African-American men, but our people as a whole as a functional group in this society.

"...If we[Black men] keep blaming someone else for what we don't have or can't get . . . and if we want something for ourselves . . . my kids. your kids . . . we're going to have to just do for ourselves first. We have to get our money back together . . . get our brothers together . . . get our act back together . . . and bring all that good stuff that walked out of our neighborhoods . . . bring something back home".

That one statement alluded to the fact that African-American men, particularly those between 18 and 35 are significantly at risk in all areas of this society. Without massive individual efforts to halt the trends of educational, economic and social apathy and atrophy, the ranks of African-American men will wither away and remain dysfunctional as present negative factors remain unchecked and unchallenged.

Out of that amorphous beginning, a network of African-American men has come into existence which intends to research, advocate and generate the means of securing economic resources, viable educational alternatives in and out of the public school districts, refute the negative effects of ahistorical ignorance and media defamation, and stimulate meaningful and relevant political participation which addresses African-American men their families, and concurrently, the well-being of all African-Americans.

The African-American Men's Crises Commission takes the position that the present plights of African-American men has grown imperceptibly beyond that of endangerment, reaching critical levels, and that unless we join our economic resources, talents and spirit in common cause, then while a select "talented tenth" may prosper, the great mass of the African- American population may find ourselves frozen in lock-step, without access to the meaningful experiences of life in this society.

While America proclaimed its inalienable rights under the laws of God and man, African-Americans during the 18th century were considered as only three-fifths of a person. During the nineteenth century, even after the blood of African-American men flowed in the Civil War and Harriet Tubman and the likes of Sojourner Truth attested to our humanity,we were considered as no more than second-class citizens. During the mass upheavals of the Civil Rights efforts of 20th century,we were considered dangerous but potentially useful.

And now as the 21st century looms on the horizon, African-American men are considered an endangered species.

Before we lose another step in time, before the efforts of those who ran the gauntlet before us are buried in distant memory, before our sense of community finds us unable to or unwilling to grasp at self-determination, let us once again consider ourselves; not only in search of tomorrows, but vigilantly of aware of yesterday.

The Crises Commission arises in Oakland during the last decade of the 20th century, in response to the portended and deteriorating conditions which impact not only those African-American men who have already stood at the thresh-hold of the urban underclass, but those few, whose niche in the dominant social and economic position, is also endangered. Incontrovertible evidence indicates that those African-American men considered upwardly mobile, are in fact, only those designated exceptions, tokens if you will, allowed to stand in the mainstream of some American adventures, but whose effective decision-making powers and authority in relation to the mass of African-Americans, is virtually zero.

Among the concerns of the Crises Commission are the threats resulting from local, state and federal inaction and indifference, which affects the lack of sufficient health care, the increasing numbers of functional illiterates among African-American men, conditions of unemployment and underemployment, housing discrimination and inadequate housing, dysfunctional family conditions which affect the youth, and the disproportionate numbers of African-American men who continue to populate the jails and prisons or who die in the urban centers of the country.

Significant among the items is that we understand and address the fact that African-American women have performed a marvelous task of bearing the brunt of the many burdens of our people; she has not only successfully nurtured the children of a people, but oftentimes the men as well. As she has been able to take advantage of some of the opportunities afforded her in this society, the African-American Men's Crises Commission takes note of her unwavering nature and now, African-American men can and must do no less.

That relationship between African-American men and women has suffered from both individual frailties and those subverted conditions of the social dilemma, which must be addressed and corrected. This Commission suggests that that once healthy family-oriented environment essential to offset negative social influences must be taken squarely upon the shoulders of African-American men; that no social formula is foolproof in these complex

Those African-American men . . . designated exceptions . . . effective decision-making powers and authority . . .is virtually zero.

times, and there are ideals, which can strengthen and re-direct those family-oriented longings and drives which have displaced, forced out of reach or ignored.

The distinctions between successful and unsuccessful African-American men have so often been defined in terms of their economic status and subsequent prestige, and their position relative to the remainders of the group. However, the Crises Commission takes issue with that perspective.

As one individual climbs or broadens their horizons, the masses of the group will be forgotten for only so long. Those talents and human resources which had roots among African-Americans, and grew away from their source, must episodically return. Nature's laws demand that its fruit eventually return to fertilize the soil for regeneration, and so too, must African-Americans find their way home to their roots and only true source of sustenance.

We can no more leave the lesser endowed among our numbers without support, than can we expect the more accomplished to fly alone without the nourishments of their cultural and historical roots. The African-American Men's Crises Commission finds that as one advances, the group must advance; not only for survival, but because of survival.

BLACK HISTORY MONTH OBSERVED AT S.F. COUNTY JAIL

San Francisco Sheriff Michael Hennessey announced a full slate of activities which will recognize and celebrate Black History Month this February in the County Jail.

Among the speakers at the San Bruno Program Facility will be sports sociologist Dr. Harry Edwards, who will highlight the valuable contributions made by African-Americans throughout history.

Black History Month has been observed at the San Bruno facility, but this year the administrators are encouraging nonwhite inmates to learn more about their ethnic heritage.

"Nearly 60% of those inmates in the county jail system," stated Sheriff Hennessey, "are African-American men and women". While the pages of Black American history are stained by oppression and discrimination, there is also a rich cultural heritage which has long been neglected.

"We hope our efforts instill pride and can provide an historical reference point for all people," said Hennessey.

Two ongoing educational classes at the San Bruno Program Facility will focus on African-American history in February: women's cultural awareness and multicultural ethnic studies.

BLACK HISTORY MONTH AT MERRITT WILL HIGHLIGHT CLERGY, PANTHERS

Merritt College honors the national theme of Black History Month "Educating America: Black Universities and Colleges- the Strengths and Crises" with a series of films and lectures aimed at providing an opportunity for better understanding of the African-American experience.

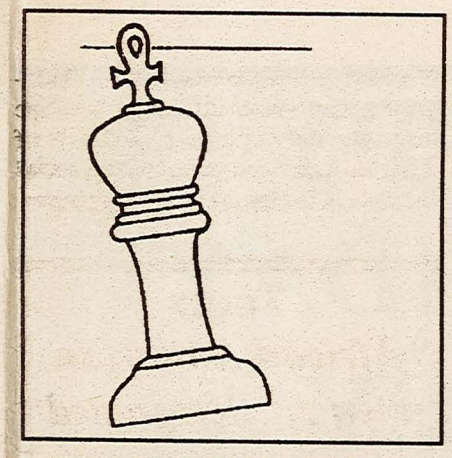
The month long series began Tuesday, February 5, with the Black History Celebration in the student lounge. Ms. Amber Blackwell, President of the Merritt College Black Student Union was there to begin the event.

On Thursday, February 21, the clergy will speak about "Where Do We Go From Here?" The lecture features the Reverend James Vernon Mathews II,(Father Jay), Priest, St. Benedict's Church, Oakland; Bishop Emeritus Leontine T.C. Kelly, the first Black woman bishop in the United States, and an ecumenical panel of clergy representatives.

The film, The Black Panther Party, will be shown on Monday, February 26, followed with a discussion of the topic Tuesday, February 27.

The final discussion for Black History Month at Merritt College will be on Thursday, February 28, on the topic of police brutality.

All of the events will be held in the Merritt College Student Lounge, located in the R-building, from noon to 1:30pm each scheduled day.



BISHOP'S BASSLINE

Before I start this article on gangster hip hop,I would like to say I am VERY upset at the shooting that happened at the M.L.K. festival in S.F. I got there shortly after the shooting and I can tell you that I have never felt more ashamed of my people than at that moment. Now I know why white people look at us like animals. We can't even go to a function to remember a man who died in hopes of freeing us without killing each other.

I want the mother of that boy who was killed to know that I share her sorrow although I did not know the young man myself. I have a question for the person or persons involved. Are you more of man now? Being down for the hood don't mean shit, "homes." Cause the hood was there before you and it'll go on after you. And all of y'all dealers and gangbangers are suckers for falling into the whiteman's game.

GANGSTA!GANGSTA! THAT'S WHAT THEY'RE YELLING

What's up wit it?! The Bishop is back and on the scene! Here to speak on the most controversial hip hop next to the pro-Black radical mixes. Gangsta rhyme.

Now, since hip hop comes out of the ghetto, naturally you're gonna have some brothers kicking that type of flavor. The earliest gangstas of hip hop I remember were JUST ICE, SCHOOLLY "D" and KOOL "G" RAP. COOL "J" also kicked a lil' gangsta rhyme himself. But it really got popular when a boy named Eric Wright got together with O'Shea Jackson and Andre Young, over in Compton, and came out with what HAS to be one of if not THE dopest hip hop gangsta rhyme ever. Dope Man! N.W.A. came off hard as a brother out of Soledad. They brought the reality of life for Afrikan living in South Central Los Angeles right to your door. And if you didn't feel like letting them in, they kicked your door in! Dr. Dre's super hype beats, with Ice Cube and Eazy "E"s wailing over them let you know what time it was out in the streets of L.A. And with brothers like Ice "T",(the originator of crime rhyme in L.A.), King Tee, and most recently, A.T.L., gangsta rhyme has come a VERY long way.

But there is a difference between "street knowledge" and gangsta ignorance. Now, to ME, street knowledge is Ice Cube's ENDANGERED SPECIES(Tales from the Darkside) with lines like "It's a shame that niggas die young/But to the lightside it don't matter none/It'll be another drive-by homicide/But,to me,it's just another tale from the darkside." Or even Above the Law's UNTOUCHABLE, where they tell you the law of the street, if you want to stay alive: "It's not what you know, it's what you can prove." BAMM! That is street knowledge in your face. Pure and direct from the streets of South Central.

Gangsta ignorance is something like Eazy "E"s part in the song, "Fuck the Police." Let me set the tempo for you. Ice Cube talks about getting harassed for having gold and a beeper. M.C. Ren gets pulled over for no reason, asks why and gets thrown in the clink. Now, the song really made you understand (if you didn't know) how the cops mess with you if you're a Black man. So here comes Eazy with lines like, "I kick ass/Or maybe cause I blast/On a stupid ass nigga when I'm playing with the trigga/Of an uzi or an A.K./Cause the police always got something stupid to say." So, basically, you're saying, "I want to kill brothers for the sake of killing brothers" and fuck the police for trying to stop you? That is some of the dumbest shit I ever heard in hip hop.

So, do you see what I'm saying now? Once street knowledge just becomes a violent brag rap with no message, it just gives punk white critics another reason to dis hip hop. Gansta rhyme has its place in hip hop, because as long as there are ghettos there are going to be gangsters. And as long as there are gangsters there is going to be gangsta hip hop. But I STILL believe that if all these brothers read a book once in a while they would be able to kick knowledge complete.

Number two. The number one gangsta hip hop song is "City Under Siege" by the Geto Boys. I made the mistake of listening to the mainstream media and neglected to listen to the album. Malcolm X's proof once again that no matter what ANYBODY claims about anything, to check it out yourself.

Kirk out,

THE BISHOP OF HIP HOP

Footnote: Ice Cube and the Geto Boys obviously have been doing their homework because they really seem to know who the real enemy is. Not your brother; the government.

TOP FIVE ALBUMS TO PEEP OUT

1. KILL AT WILL -Ice Cube,[P.H.] "The Product","Dead Homiez"
2. KING SUN - Righteous But Ruthless,[P.H.] "Big Shots","Universal Flag"
3. GANGSTARR - Step Into The Arena,[P.H.] "Just to Get a Rep", "No More Mr. Nice Guy, Pt. 2"
4. EPMD - Business As Usual,[P.H.] "Gold Digger","Funky Piano"
5. BRAND NUBIANS - One For All,[P.H.] "Who Can Get Busy Like This Man", "Slow Down"

*[P.H.]-pick hit

Stumbling Free

wandering a darkended road
stumbling/i strayed and lost the way,

without direction/no purpose
i cried for the light of day,

cursed and raged/at the path
in desolation and fear

yet from emptiness/a wind-swept voice
beckoned i draw near,

timidly/in ignorance i whispered
what phantom are you/in this place you dwell

none save the dreams of a people/call me freedom
it is time you knew me well,

you have followed this path where
the unrighteous/have been confounded

body and soul search together now
here/the limits of my domain/you'll find unbounded,

you are neither lost nor without cause
merely reaffirming an age old quest

now that freedom calls
you and kin/will find redress,

take the road of your birthright/follow knowledge to its den
step aside for no evil or injustice/

BLACK HISTORY MONTH
CONTINUED

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21 AND OLDER PLEASE!

As a tribute to Black History Month, the COM-MEMORATOR newspaper acknowledges the birthday of the late Dr. Huey P. Newton, co-founder and leader of the Black Panther Party. Dr. Newton was born February 17, 1942 in Monroe Louisiana. In 1966 the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was founded in Oakland California by the late Dr. Huey P. Newton and Bobby G. Seale. The Black Panther Party represented primarily African Americans'(as well as other oppressed groups) struggle for Human Rights of the mid-60's and throughout the 70's.

The following individuals and businesses acknowledge and honor the birthday of an African American leader(Dr. Newton)who inspired thousands of people — here and around the world—toJUST SAY NOto oppression and racism:

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POEM

HUEY IS FREE

BY Flora Grace Dozier
The words are ringing in
in my ear.
They are ringing loud and
clear.
Power to the People!
Black power to the Black people!
The panther does not attack
until he is cornered,
and the leader must be
honored.
A product of the `60s.
A victim of the '80s.
The battle must continue
even if it is fought by
little, old, Black ladies.
Panthers roamed the
streets of Oakland.
Many of them were slain.
Now Oakland is Cokeland.
Pineland!
Oakland!
Cokeland!
It's a disease.
And I just can't seem to
get out of the TREES!
Power to the people!
Black power to the Black people!
Don't confuse the oppressed
with the oppressor.
Then you will be able
to see the real aggressor.
The Pentagon.
The Military.
The local police.
Lying politicians.
Avaricious Businessmen.
There is no release!
A nation of liars.
Countless Black funeral biers.
A law book in one hand
A gun in another.
The next person the
police shoots could be your
MOTHER!
Power to the people!
Black power to the Black people!
Justice is blind? These
words are unctuous.
American justice is vindictive
and color conscious.
Free Huey! Free Huey!
We used to say.
We said it until the
other day.
I don't know about you,
but I can plainly see
that they went after him.
Now they're coming after me.
Huey is not dead.
HUEY IS FREE!!!!
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